


SECRET/SENSITIVE
EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

May 22, 1974

HAKTO 128

FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: BREMER 

1. Reference your TOHAK 266, Secretary asks that you first ask the Soviets if they are ready to begin talks on May 29. If they are, then we should keep the talks technical, with no policy discussions and no numbers.

MORI/CDF
C03345676 pages
4-5

2. Secretary did not offer any guidance on the other questions you posed.

3. Best regards.

State Dept. review completed

OSD review completed pages 4-5

DOE review completed pages 4-5

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

S E C R E T/SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

25X1

MAY 22, 1974

HAKTO 128

FOR: GENERAL SCOVROFT

FROM: BREMER

1. REFERENCE YOUR TONAK 266, SECRETARY ASKS THAT YOU FIRST ASK THE SOVIETS IF THEY ARE READY TO BEGIN TALKS ON MAY 29. IF THEY ARE, THEN WE SHOULD KEEP THE TALKS TECHNICAL, WITH NO POLICY DISCUSSIONS AND NO NUMBERS.

2. SECRETARY DID NOT OFFER ANY GUIDANCE ON THE OTHER QUESTIONS YOU POSED.

3. BEST REGARDS.

S E C R E T/SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

25X1

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

Scowcroft requests
guidance on test
ban talks.

Z 212019Z MAY 74 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE SITUATION ROOM TOHAK266
TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
ZEM

21 MAY 84 01 52z

SECRET EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY [REDACTED]
PLEASE PASS TO BREMER/RODMAN FOR THE SECRETARY

WH41437

25X1

MAY 20, 1974

TO: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
SUBJECT: PREPARATION FOR MEETING OF TTB EXPERTS

I HAVE GONE OVER THIS SUBJECT WITH LODAL, HYLAND, AND SONNENFELDT, AND THIS PRESENTS FOR YOUR APPROVAL WHAT WE PROPOSE TO DO IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETING OF TTB EXPERTS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN MOSCOW ON MAY 29.

LODAL HAS CALLED A MEETING OF THE VERIFICATION PANEL WORKING GROUP ON THE TEST BAN FOR TUESDAY MORNING. IT WILL DEVELOP A DRAFT US POSITION PAPER FOR A "POSSIBLE" MEETING OF US-USSR TECHNICAL EXPERTS NEXT WEEK. UNTIL WE GET FIRM ARRANGEMENTS MADE WITH THE SOVIETS, WE WILL NOT TELL THE BUREAUCRACY THAT THE MEETING IS SET. THE BUREAUCRACY HAS ALREADY DONE CONSIDERABLE WORK ON THIS, LARGELY AS A RESULT OF YOUR PREVIOUS DIRECTIVE TO VERIFICATION PANEL PRINCIPALS TO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE SUBJECT AT THE TEST BAN VERIFICATION PANEL MEETING.

ALL AGENCIES APPEAR TO AGREE THAT IF WE ARE TO PROCEED TO A TTB, THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS IS TO HOLD THE TECHNICAL TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS. AS YOU RECALL, THE DOD "COUNTER-PROPOSAL" MADE TECHNICAL TALKS AND AGREEMENT A PRECONDITION TO FURTHER NEGOTIATION OF A TTB. HOWEVER, IKLE HAS SENT YOU A MEMO WHICH RECOMMENDS THAT DISCUSSION OF THE TECHNICAL ISSUES TAKE PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OR MORE GENERAL PREPARATORY TALKS.

IKLE ARGUES THAT WE NEED TO ESTABLISH EARLY AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS ON:

- A SPECIFIC THRESHOLD (WITH OR WITHOUT AN OVER-THRESHOLD QUOTA ALLOWANCE AS PROPOSED BY OSD);
- AN EFFECTIVE DATE FOR A TTB;
- A POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING ON TESTING RESTRAINTS PRIOR TO THAT EFFECTIVE DATE; AND
- THE FORM OF AGREEMENT AND ITS RELATION TO MULTILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS.

WE SUSPECT IKLE WANTS TO ELEVATE THE LEVEL OF THE TALKS TO ENCOMPASS POLICY QUESTIONS TO GIVE ACDA A GREATER ROLE.

WE RECOMMEND THAT AT THIS STAGE, THE TALKS AVOID ALL POLICY DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING THE LEVEL OF THE THRESHOLD, WHICH HAS BECOME HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL IN TOWN. THE TALKS SHOULD BE TECHNICAL IN NATURE. THEY WOULD HAVE THE MAJOR PURPOSES OF ENSURING THAT WE AND THE SOVIETS ARE USING IDENTICAL CRITERIA FOR THE DEFINITION OF SEISMIC MAGNITUDE. THE AEC IS LIKELY TO WANT THESE EXPERTS TO DISCUSS HOW PNES WOULD BE HANDLED ABOVE THE THRESHOLD, BUT OUR GUIDANCE TO THE DELEGATION CAN KEEP THEM QUIET ON THIS, GIVEN THAT YOU HAVE ALREADY AGREED WITH THE SOVIETS IN GENEVA THAT PNES WOULD BE BANNED ABOVE THE THRESHOLD. BARRING A SEPARATE

MORI/CDF
C03345676 pages
4-5

State Dept. review completed
pages 4-5

OSD review
completed pages 4-5

DOE review
completed pages 4-5

THERE IS SOME SENTIMENT IN DOD FOR A THRESHOLD TO BE SET IN TERMS (No Objection to Declassification in Part 2010/06/15 : LOC-HAK-260-2-50-5 HOWEVER, THIS APPROACH IS NOT DIRECTLY VERIFIABLE. IN ANY CASE, DOD IS LIKELY TO GO ALONG WITH DISCUSSION OF A SEISMIC THRESHOLD IN THE EXPERTS TALKS.

WE HAVE GIVEN SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHT TO THE COMPOSITION OF THE US DELEGATION TO THE TALKS. TENTATIVELY, WE BELIEVE A SMALL TEAM COMPOSED OF A SEISMOLOGIST FROM DOD'S ADVANCED RESEARCH PROJECTS AGENCY (ARPA), A NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SEISMIC EXPERT FROM AEC, AND THE LEAD TEST BAN PEOPLE IN STATE AND ACDA. ALL HAVE TECHNICAL BACKGROUNDS AND EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS.

AS TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE DELEGATION, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT STOESSEL WOULD BE A LOGICAL CANDIDATE, BUT YOU MAY FEEL THAT THIS WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS TOO MUCH OF AN OPENING TO SHIFT THE FOCUS OF THE MEETING TO POLITICAL ISSUES. IF SO, PERHAPS THE DOD SEISMOLOGIST (DR. ERIC WILLIS, DIRECTOR OF NUCLEAR MONITORING SEISMOLOGY IN ARPA) WOULD BE A BETTER CHAIRMAN, WITH STOESSEL A MEMBER OF THE DELEGATION. IN EITHER CASE, WE MIGHT WANT MORE CONTROL OVER THE DELEGATION BY INCLUDING EITHER LODAL'S MAN, HUBERMAN, OR SONNENFELDT'S MAN, TERRELL, ON THE DELEGATION. BOTH ARE SOLID PEOPLE.

AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THE SOVIETS HAVE NEVER FORMALLY RESPONDED TO OUR OFFER OF MAY 29 AS A STARTING DATE FOR THE TALKS. IF YOU CONCUR IN THIS APPROACH, PERHAPS I SHOULD CONTACT DOBRYNIN TO FIRM UP THE DATE AND NATURE OF THE TALKS, EMPHASIZING TO HIM THAT THEY MUST REMAIN ON TECHNICAL ISSUES AND THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATES MUST GIVE THE US DELEGATION NO INDICATION WHATSOEVER THAT WE ARE AGREED ON ANY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES. ANY RELATING TO WHAT MAY BE AGREED AT THE SUMMIT WOULD BE RESTRICTED SOLELY TO YOUR CHANNEL WITH DOBRYNIN.

IN SUMMARY, WE NEED YOUR APPROVAL OR ANY COMMENTS ON THE FOLLOWING:

1. DEVELOPING GUIDANCE FOR THE DELEGATES.
2. TELLING IKLE THAT WE WANT THE TALKS KEPT TO TECHNICAL ISSUES.
3. PUTTING STOESSEL IN CHARGE OF THE DELEGATION, OR LEAVING IT TO THE TECHNICIANS.
4. HAVING ME WORK OUT THE TIME AND CONTENT OF THE TALKS WITH DOBRYNIN.

WARM REGARDS.

0839

2794